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that the legs are intertwined. This may be a local difference; the account was quite clear and definite in both cases. At Tabut there was added: 'Then they all talk to the girl, and tell her: "Now you know how to hold your husband's skin, you must not be ashamed any more now."'

Then the boy's mother's brother (at Tabut they said any of the older men of the village would do as well) takes a piece of pig out of the ceremonial basket (*seban*), cuts off a bit, and holds it to the mouth of the girl; she must only smell it, not bite it. Then he puts it to the mouth of the boy in the same way. Neither of them must actually touch the meat. Then he puts the meat back into the *seban*. Then he takes a coco-nut shell full of water, and holds it to the girl's mouth, but she must not drink any of it. In the same way he holds it to the boy's mouth. He then takes areca-nuts and pepper-stick. He breaks one areca-nut in half. One half is given to the boy, who hands it to the girl. She bites off a piece with her teeth, and gives the rest back to the boy. Then the pepper-stick is dipped into the lime-pot, and the boy gives it to the girl, who eats part of it. What remains is dipped again into the lime, and the girl gives it to the boy, who must chew it. If he is not shy he manages to chew all of it, but sometimes he is so shy he cannot chew, and it remains in his mouth.

Then the women who are the boy's *waris*, who have been sitting on the ground all this time with their hoods over their faces, are told to lift up the hoods and look at their son-in-law so that they will know him. 'Look in the face of your *waris*, it won't do for you to go making some other man think you are his *waris*.' Then the young couple untwine their legs and get down off the knees of their respective *taurē*. Then a man goes to the slit-gong and beats it with a succession of short quick beats, thus:

. . . . . .

The other men blow on the Pan-pipes, and the women *kōma*. The *seban* are hung up in the rafters. Food is distributed.

After this the boy gets up and goes off at once to his own village. The girl waits till all the women belonging to the boy's village are ready, then the boy's mother, who is *ruanbē* to the girl, carries her pick-a-back. All the men and women relatives of the boy go along with them, and come to their own village. As soon as they arrive, a big feast is made for the young married couple. All the food is

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V

CHILDHOOD

PERIODS OF CHILD'S GROWTH

856 THE following terms are applied to children at various ages:

Petats dialect.	*Kurtatchi dialect.*	*English equivalent.*
kukúrik	*kúso*	Infant in arms, applied from the day of birth.
bálat		Infant getting a little bigger.
gúmgúm		Baby who can sit up without help.
sénsén	*wáras*	Baby who can crawl.
tátá	*pípit i kúmom*	Child who can walk a little with support.
na la papáis	*pípit a potʃ*	Child who can walk without help, toddler.
pían atsón	*bái'i uúŧ*	Boy, general term (lit. male child).
pían hihín	*bái'i mon*	Girl, general term (lit. female child).
kukuvé	*kóvio*	Maiden.

882 Of a girl arriving at the age of puberty, they say, in the Kurtatchi dialect, *mon tʃítʃi en nan ma*, or *mon tʃítʃi taputs nan ma*, both phrases meaning a female whose breasts are developing. Of a boy they say *no non datsu*, 'he goes to the bush', referring to the period of withdrawal prior to the first puberty ceremony. After he has been through this ceremony the term *upi* is applied to him, the same word as is used for the leaf hat which is put on at this time, and worn for some years afterwards.

TREATMENT OF BABIES

854 Small babies are petted and played with a great deal, not only by their parents but by everybody in the village. The only show of endearment which is permitted in public is that between a small child and an adult. I have never seen a child kissed in our fashion, the corresponding caress is to put the open mouth to the cheek of the baby and pull it away again. A much more frequent form of fondling is patting or stroking. A crying baby will be taken up and dandled up and down in its mother's arms. She will sometimes say to it: '*Tui, tui, tui, tui,*' with a rapid trill of the lips which I 854 could not imitate. If it continues to cry, it is usually given the 533 breast. I have also heard the Melanesian equivalent of 'Father's gone a-hunting', which runs: '*Tómmu, tʃímmen to ab en i matin,*

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kui ni agiu, kama en ta tamū.' 'Don't cry, your mother will go to the taro patch and pull up some taro and bring it for you.' 854

Babies are put to sleep by stroking and patting. Lullabies are often sung, either by making a crooning noise, or by singing softly words made up by the mother as she goes along. A great feature of these is the repetition of the last syllable, as in this example, which is said to have no meaning: '*Pér per pos satʃi mon a pirpalat a rakū-kū-kū-kū-kū.*' Some lullabies are not improvisations, but are traditional. One of these consists of several syllables each pronounced separately with great emphasis: '*Boa wu e su ma ri ri na to pi ma go lia.*' I could not get these words explained, but was told that all the *wrar* (spirits of the dead) are called upon, they all come from the graveyard, and the mother pretends to count them with this song. Then she says: 'Now lie down and sleep, the spirits will get sand and put it on top of you and me.' There is a tiny plant called *owa gurus kai'i* (*Biophytum cumingianum*) which is [824]
plant sleep child
often hung round the child's neck to make it go to sleep. I could get no reason why this small plant was supposed to have such an effect, but its use in this connexion was very general. No special care is taken to see that a child gets its proper amount of sleep during the day. 533 ●

Babies are washed by having water thrown over them from half a coco-nut shell; they are then rubbed over by the hand of the person officiating. One family at Kurtatchi had a large wooden bowl, which they said came from Mamus; they used to put their babies into it and give them a real bath, but this was exceptional. All small infants have their skins rubbed with the red substance called *sin* (see p. 416) mixed with coco-nut oil. This is also put on their heads, in order to make their hair grow and to keep it free from lice. 854 [302]

Mothers sing to their babies, and play games with them, just as they do all the world over, and in much the same fashion. There is, for example, a game in which each of the child's fingers is touched or pinched in turn, beginning with the little finger, the mother saying: '*Kabunu, kabugu, tʃitakair, kababian, awepan, kiri-giri-giri-giri,*' with the last word running her finger lightly up the baby's arm; this is always the signal for gurgles of glee. 'Peep-bo!' is played by the mother clapping her hands and saying '*Tur tar tʃi, kaj-kaj ni!*' ('Look, look, a rattle!'), putting her hand over the

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The women cook a quantity of taro, which must be roasted in the embers, not boiled in a pot. The novices and their *amro* go into the bush and catch a number of opossums and small non-poisonous snakes. These they must bring in alive. They are placed carefully in baskets made of coco-nut palm leaves. Areca-nut and betel-pepper is put in with them. The *amro* take the baskets to the village. Here they form a line. All the women who have sons among the novices form a line opposite to them, carrying baskets full of taro. They sing a special tune and do a dance-step called *dāni*. They weep all the time they are dancing, and every one who hears the singing feels sad and weeps also. It is forbidden to perform this dance except under these circumstances, so I was not able to see it or to hear the tune. Everybody agreed that it was specially fine. The *amro* then pretend to throw the contents of their baskets at the women, who pretend to catch in their own baskets. Then both lines advance towards each other, but do not quite meet, because a low palisade of boughs put up for the purpose in the centre of the village square remains between them. Through gaps in it the *amro* exchange baskets with the women. This exchange of baskets is called *wasi'emor*. Each woman exchanges with the man who is acting as *amro* to her son. As the exchange is made, the *amro* say: 'You take these baskets of betel-pepper which belong to us.' The women take the baskets and run away quickly to their own huts, they are supposed to be afraid of the *amro*. The next stage was thus described: 'The women go to their huts, they think they would like to eat some betel-pepper. One woman opens her basket. The opossum inside is very lively. It bites her hand. She cries out: 'Woo-o-o-o-o-o, here is a 'possum; I thought it was betel-pepper when I took it.' Another woman wants to eat betel-pepper, she opens her basket, a snake runs after her. 'Woo-o-o-o-o-o, here is a snake; I thought it was betel-pepper.'

After the exchange of baskets the *amro* go back to the novices in the bush. The *kwigin* also assemble at the *nōnō*, and the *kwigin* of highest standing in each clan gives the boys of his clan their new names. He climbs a tree (any tree suitably situated can be used for this purpose), and the boys of his clan group themselves at its foot. The *kwigin* then calls out the new name of each. This name he is supposed to receive from the *wrar*. It must be the name of some one who has belonged to the group and has died, and thus become an *wrar*. Stress was laid by my informants on the fact that the

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actual method of dyeing is the same as that well known to the coast people, who use it for colouring pandanus leaves to ornament the women's hoods. The secret possessed by the mountain people is the use of a mordant which sets the dye and renders it more or less permanent, the untreated colour quickly fading in the sun and being washed out by rain. The procedure for dyeing the red leaves for the upi is as follows: The leaves of the *win* palm are picked while they are green, and are put into a length of bamboo and dried over the fire. When thoroughly dry, they are taken out and put in the sun until bleached white, then hung in the rafters of the hut where the smoke of the fire will reach them. This colours them a light brown, and also helps to preserve them, and they remain there until needed. When it is intended to dye them, the roots of the tree called in the Kunua dialect *boridor*, which is the same as that known to the Kurtatchi people as *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*), are put, with some water, into a length of bamboo which must be freshly cut. Some of the bark of the tree called *kaifika* in the Kunua dialect is soaked in cold water and squeezed out into the bamboo. This forms the mordant. (I obtained a piece of the bark and specimens of the leaves of this tree, but unfortunately it cannot be identified, and the quantity is too small to permit of analysis.) The *win* leaves are pushed into the bamboo and the whole laid on the embers of a smouldering fire. When the colour is considered deep enough, the leaves are taken out and washed in cold water, and then laid in the sun until they are dry. Thus prepared, they are sold in bundles of ten, enough for one *upi*, for goods or tobacco to the value of about 2*s*. in our money. They are called *kokoman* in the Kurtatchi dialect.

As I had not brought enough *kokoman* back with me from Kunua to provide for all the *upi*, a trip was made to a group of hill villages behind the north coast to arrange for a further supply. Eight of the most important men of the village went on this journey. None of the *upi* boys were permitted to go, but I accompanied the party by invitation. We brought seven loin-cloths to pay for seven sets of *kokoman* leaves, enough for seven *upi*. It was arranged that the hill people should bring them down to Kurtatchi when they were ready. This they did twelve days later. They were received with blowing of conch-shells and beating of the slit-gong with the rhythm /// /// /// ... /. The leaves were carefully put away in the *tabar*.

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881 [276] children must accompany her, also wearing a hood. During this time she must not handle fire. (This involves her abstinence from smoking, which is a very great hardship.)

After sleeping for the fifth night the prohibition on handling fire is over. She is given a drink, which she must drink when no one is [272] looking. It consists of the milk of a green coco-nut mixed with the 824 leaves of certain plants (specimens of these were given to me, with their native names, but have not been identified). She and her two [302] companions have their heads painted red with *owan*, and their foreheads outlined with white (*wiwi*).

All the women *kōma*, the conch-shell is sounded, and the slit-gong is beaten in this rhythm:

• [533] /// .. /// .. /// .. /// .. /// .. ///, &c.

The girl does not join in the *kōma*, she stays in the house. All the women call out: 'To-morrow we shall eat a big pig. It will be cut into pieces.' Each of them calls out which part of the pig she would like for herself: 'I want its head.' 'I want its neck.' 'I want its leg.' 'I want its hind quarters,' and so on.

881 574 Then word is sent to the neighbouring villages. For example, for a girl living at Kurtatchi a woman will be sent to Ruri and one to Tabut, telling the people there to collect taro to make ceremonial pudding. They prepare packages of ceremonial pudding and cook them, and bring them to the village. Every woman who can possibly manage it will accept this invitation.

881 824 Next day, before dawn, the women of the village in which the girl lives go and cut down a banana palm which has a bunch of nearly ripe bananas on it. (This is a special kind of banana called *pias a mon* (*pias* = climb a tree, *mon* = woman). Its fruit may never be eaten by boys wearing the *upi*.) They cut down the tree close to the ground, with the fruit and leaves remaining on it. This must be done while it is still dark. They bring the tree back to the village, and lay it on the ground near the girl's hut.

As dawn is breaking, the banana palm is stuck in the ground in front of the girl's hut, at the *tagoan*. The women bring a quantity of certain young plants and saplings (the only two which I could identify were sugar-cane and canarium almond). These must not be cut, but pulled up by the roots, and are planted in front of the hut in two rows, making an avenue between the banana tree and the hut.

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881 has been fixed there for the purpose. The 'opossum girl' is sitting above her on top of the bunch of fruit.

Then all the women bring the ceremonial pudding they have prepared, and plenty of cooked taro, drinking coco-nuts and dry coco-nuts, and special kinds of taro uncooked with the stalk still attached. These are painted with stripes of black and red. All the things are heaped up at the foot of the banana palm. Meanwhile, all the women *kōma*, shouting as loud as they can.

Then the 'opossum girl' breaks off one banana from the bunch and throws it at the women as they go round in the *kōma*. They are all glad, and shout. Then another woman climbs up the tree and breaks off a banana and throws it. Then all the women start throwing things at one another, limes, canarium almonds, if they are in season, pawpaws, mangoes, areca-nuts, and so on. They play together because they are glad that the girl has begun to menstruate. She herself stays up in the tree and takes no part in the game. This goes on for some time.

[526]

When the throwing is finished, the girl puts on two hoods, one plain, the other with a pattern worked on it with strips of fibre (these special hoods, called *tsububuwat*, are made on Buka and obtained by barter). All the women now gather as close as possible to the banana palm, and continue to *kōma* loudly. One of them cuts down the banana palm near the ground. All the women hold up their hands to catch the tree as it falls. They lower it gently to the ground with the two girls still sitting in it. The conch-shell is blown, the slit-gong is beaten with the same rhythm as before, and all the women shout. Some of them catch hold of the girl and carry her into the hut. She must not touch the ground. Other women call out to the 'opossum girl' to hold tight to the bunch of bananas. The tree is laid on the ground with the 'opossum girl' still clinging to it. Its leaves are then pulled off and the 'opossum girl' is covered up with them.

[292]

[533]

881 831 Then the women all play at copulating with one another. One woman makes another woman lie on the ground, at the foot of the prostrate banana palm, she then lies on the top of her and pretends to have coitus. But they must not play at coitus with the girl for whom the ceremony is being held. She must stay inside the hut and take no part in the play. Some one seizes the 'opossum girl' and runs off with her into the hut; she is too small to play at coitus with the women. Then the women get hold of bits of ceremonial

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524 a coco-nut palm is hung up on a branch, and the tops are thrown at it. There are also competitions to see whose top spins longest. The grown men join the children in this game, but the women are [562 not allowed to play it. After this top spinning becomes general; 184] it is not played for some time previously. (At Petats they did not observe this rule.)

574 The 'time of the almond' is also made the occasion for reciprocal feasts between friendly villages, which have more of a social than of a ceremonial character. The older men will say to the boys: 'You fellows go and get a lot of almonds and make a Tukis.' (Tukis is the name of a group of tiny creatures somewhat similar to our hobgoblins; they are discussed in Chapter XV.) So the boys go to the bush and collect a great quantity of nuts, and bring them to the village, and arrange them on the ground in the central space, in the form of a man; they make his head, and his body, and his arms, and his legs. Then the people of the village all paint themselves with [302 red and black paint, and they play Pan-pipes, and walk round as 533] they do at a *kōma*, while they are cracking the nuts. This is one of the very few occasions on which they *kōma* in daylight; usually it is only done at night. They invite the people of a neighbouring village, who all come with Pan-pipes and join in the *kōma*. Then every one feasts on the nuts. A short time after, the village which was thus invited gives a similar feast in its turn, and asks the people of the former village. After this, if the boys, who naturally much enjoy these festive occasions, ask the *tsumaun* if they may have another, they are told: 'No, our guests have returned the one we gave before, we cannot have another now.'

262 Most of the many varieties of bananas are eaten either raw or 252 cooked, but there are some, including one very large plantain (*kay*), which are not palatable until cooked. These are usually boiled in a pot, skin and all. A smaller yellow kind (*tomra*) is usually skinned before being laid on hot embers to roast.

177 Oranges and limes grow in the vicinity of most villages and are much appreciated by the natives. They are always eaten raw. 262 The oranges do not change colour when ripe, but remain green; the inside is pale, somewhat resembling the colour of a grape-fruit. They are sweet and juicy. I understand that they are not indigenous, as is also the case with the pawpaw (*Carica Papaya*). This is eaten raw, like a melon, and generally while still, according to our ideas, very far from ripe.

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and if subsequently it is desired to enlarge its capacity by adding further sets of house-posts and thus increasing its length, a feast is held for each set of house-posts put in. A very large *tobár* may have as many as ten sets of posts. A man who wishes to build a *tobár* of his own must put up at least ten pigs, which form part of the feast on its completion. He may then invite youths and unattached men of his own clan, at his pleasure, to occupy it.

Beyond the preparation and eating of a quantity of ceremonial pudding, no feast was held for the two *tobár* erected at Kurtatchi during my stay, because they were not really new ones, but re-erected from the old site on the removal of the people from Gomen. I was, however, invited to be present at a feast made for a new men's house in the village of Tung, on the island of Buka, soon after my arrival in the district. As I had not then any working acquaintance with the language, and was a stranger to the village, I was not able to hold much discussion with the natives about the procedure, and can do little more than describe it.

On my arrival at the village, I found three pigs lying on the floor of the new men's house (called *dzuhan* in the Petats dialect, which closely resembles that spoken at Tung). They were tied to the house-posts. A fourth was brought over from Petats in a canoe and likewise tied up. Then the slit-gong was beaten; four single beats in slow time, indicating the number of pigs that were to be killed, and a large number of quick beats said to indicate the number of taros available for the feast. Nothing further transpired till after dark, when there was a *kōma* with slit-gong but no Pan-pipes. It lasted till a short time after daybreak.

The next day, several children, all belonging to the Manu clan, whose house it was, had their hair carefully trimmed and painted, with a broad band of red in the centre of the forehead running to the back of the head, a band of black on either side of this, and a narrow line of white outlining the edge of the hair on the forehead.

Meanwhile, several men came in from the bush blowing a conch-shell and carrying poles. One pole was very long and a tuft of leaves had been left growing at the end of it. This was stuck into the ground opposite the centre of the front of the men's house. The men stood in a circle round this, each holding one of the other posts. One man beat the slit-gong in a series of slow, distinct beats, and at each beat the men thrust the poles they held into the ground, till holes had been made deep enough to keep them upright.

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534 This is put on or omitted at the pleasure of the maker, and is said to be purely decorative. A certain amount of ceremony is observed in the making of a big slit-gong. When it is brought into the village out of the bush there is a *kōma*. The ritual was not carried out in the case of the small one made for me, and I have no details of it.

533 534 *Method of use.* The slit-gong is beaten with a striker (*imē*), which is generally made of several small canes lashed together in a circle, but a single thicker cane may also be used. For dances, two people frequently beat it together, one using slow measured strokes, the other short quick ones. These may be sounded by the two players on one instrument, or a second slit-gong may be used. Only one lip of the slit is beaten, that on the side nearest to the striker. It is struck where it stands in its place inside the covered portico in front of the house of a *tsunaun*, or in a *tobar*, and is seldom brought out into the open. When Pinari's slit-
533 534 562 gong had been brought over to Kurtatchi from the old village of Gomen, it was first set down outside his house, and he appointed some men to beat it in order to announce its safe arrival. But they 'were ashamed to beat it in front of the women', so they moved it into the portico after a few beats. On another occasion, when a Kurtatchi man, attending a feast at Ruri in connexion
[304] with a nose-piercing ceremony involving his son, was asked to help in the beating, he declined on the ground that he was ashamed to do so before the Ruri women.

At Kurtatchi the slit-gong was always beaten by men, even for a women's dance, and I was told that women never do it. But Mr.
[184] Gordon Thomas says that on the island of Pororan women beat for their own dances (1931, p. 224). There does not seem to be any actual taboo attaching to the instrument itself; men sit or lean on it, children climb over it, and I have occasionally heard small boys beating it for fun.

533 The rhythm for a *kōma* is always the same, and sounds thus (each stroke indicates a long slow beat, the dots a rapid tattoo like that produced on a kettle-drum):

///.....// ///.....// ///.....//

This is continued for the space of a minute or so, then follows a pause of similar duration. The beating always ceases on the single stroke, which is given with great emphasis. If two instruments are used, their beats must cease simultaneously. To achieve

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this involves some skill on the part of the beaters, and no small amount of muscular energy is also required to give the necessary volume of sound, so that if a *kōma* continues for hours together, as it usually does, several men must take turns at beating the rhythm.

For sending messages only one *garamuts* is used, the largest in the village, which is usually to be found in the portico of the most important *tsunaun*'s house. The sound carries for several miles. I have known people to be recalled to the village by it from a taro garden at least four miles away, and have no doubt that the sound can be heard for much longer distances, given suitable atmospheric conditions.

The method differs from that used with the 'talking drums' of West Africa, which reproduce messages of any kind by means of tonal differences. The slit-gong sends only certain recognized messages, using a kind of Morse code of long and short beats. These signals differ in different localities. A number of those in use on the island of Pororan are given by Gordon Thomas (1931, p. 225). Some of the chief signals in use at Kurtatchi are as follows:

1. Visit of some one of importance:

// // // // // // // // // //

Any one working in the taro garden when this signal is heard at once returns to the village. It is, therefore, used also if the presence, say, of the *tsunaun* is urgently required. It will be used if the report arrives that the District Officer is on his way to the village.

2. To announce the death of a person of rank:

...! ...! ...! ...! ...! ...! .....
! // // ...//

The *garamuts* is not beaten at the death of commoners.

3. At the end of the women's special dance at funerary rites for a *tsunaun*:

//// .. !..!..!..!///!..!..!..!..!///!

4. To announce a feast:

//.....!.....!..... .... !.!!.!!.!!!!!!!!
.....!!!!!

5. To announce the end of a feast:

/// ....
! ...!...!!...!!..!!.!.!

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Pan-pipes (*ka'ur* or *wa'ur* and *piu*).

534 These are made in several sizes. The larger ones (*wa'ur*) have a mouthpiece made of 'putty-nut' which makes the aperture smaller (Pl. 65, 1). These usually consist of three reeds of different diameters. The smaller ones (*piu*) have no mouthpiece, but the edge of the cane may be bevelled (Pl. 65, 3 and 4). These are usually in fours, of the same diameter, but differing in length. Both kinds are always paired, one of a pair being open below, the other cut off just below a node, so that it is stopped. More elaborate ones, consisting of a number of canes of different lengths bound together in a bundle, are sometimes seen (Pl. 65, 2).

549 *Manufacture.* The pipes are made of bamboo. Just before a dance, men and boys go out into the bush and cut large quantities of suitable canes. The instruments are made by men and boys in the village, and there is no secrecy about it, in fact it is quite a social occasion, accompanied by much merriment. To cut Pan-
[534] pipes is *nayets o piu* (Pl. 64*b*). Fresh ones must be made for every dance, and thrown away afterwards, usually into the sea. But no objection was raised when I asked to be allowed to keep some of them. The nodes are poked out with a stick or a pig-spear. The first canes cut are carefully tried out till the required note is obtained, and the others are cut to these as measures. But some men estimate the length without measuring. One man told me he did not need to measure, because he could 'think in his belly'. I have heard men whistling the sequence of notes quite accurately.

533 *Method of use.* In playing, the instrument is held in both hands. The four notes are played in varying order, usually the highest one twice, then one of the intermediate ones twice, then the lowest one twice. The Pan-pipes are used in dances in conjunction with either the slit-gong or the *mabu*, the players standing in the centre
[562] of the men's wheel-like formation. Women do not play Pan-pipes even for fun.

534 There is also in use a notched-end flute made of a single reed,
177 with two or more stops, also called *piu* (Pl. 66*a*). This is merely
439 for amusement; it is never used in dances. I have seen girls playing it at Petata, but not at Kurtatchi. I incline to think it is not indigenous, but derived from the Chinese, who have traded in the district for some long time, and who sell them in their stores.

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Conch-shell (*tsuwiŋ*).

The shell in general use is the triton shell. The sound hole is at the side (Pl. 65, 5). They are of various sizes, quite small ones being used by little boys. Women do not sound them. To sound the conch is *piu o tsuwiŋ*.

The *tsuwiŋ* is sounded on ceremonial occasions, especially those involving a journey of importance, such as that to bring home the long poles for the special *tobar* (boys' house) to be built for the *watawutʃ* ceremony, or on the way to one of these ceremonies. The performer jumps about and assumes a fierce expression, while blowing as loud a blast as he can upon the shell.

The musical bow (*koŋkoŋo*).

The musical bow consists of a flat strip of cane strung like a bow (Pl. 65, 7). It is played by holding one end between the teeth, with the string towards the face, so that the mouth acts as a resonator, while the string is plucked with the fingers towards the other end of the bow. It is used by women only, and solely for amusement, never for ceremonial purposes or at dances.

The musical bow as here used is the simplest form of an instrument which is found, with various modifications, in various parts of the Pacific area, in India and Africa, and also in Central and South America. Its distribution has been traced and discussed by H. Balfour (1899), who considers that there is close relationship throughout the Malayo-Melanesio-Polynesian series, and brings forward evidence in favour of a common origin for the forms found in India and Africa without regarding the question as settled.

The jews' harp (*pokpoko*).

The jews' harp is made of bamboo, with a straight tongue. Its shape is best seen from the photograph (Pl. 65, 6). It is played, also for amusement only, by the men.

The story goes that the rights of the sexes in these two instruments were originally reversed.

Story of origin of pokpoko

There were two people of Toioh (an island off the north-west corner of Bougainville), a man and a woman, they were going to be married, but they were not married yet. The man lived in the men's house, the woman in her own hut. At that time the *koŋkoŋo*, that is like a bow, belonged to the men, the women did not play it.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

I have counted as many as nine in a row, each with an arm round the waist of the woman on either side of her. They may also dance singly, and some women took great pride in so doing. One very tall woman frequently danced singly, with her baby in her arms. There are three movements, varied at the pleasure of the dancer: *magat* (*tʃok-tʃok* P.) advancing and retreating to and from the circle of men, with a balancing step first on one foot and then on the other; *tsuir* (*gumsu* P.) standing on one spot and rocking up and down with bent knees in a sort of 'jigging' movement, and *turap* (*pi* P.) which is a series of hops on the left foot only, with the right foot raised, its toe pointing to the ground. The general word for the women's dance is *sani* (*sɔ̃'ol* P.).

The instruments are played for a period of a couple of minutes or so, the music then ceasing abruptly, with a very loud single note on the slit-gong, if it is being used. When it stops the women cease dancing, but the men and boys continue their round, while everybody sings variations on five notes, first up, then down, ending on a high last note which is drawn out as long as the breath holds, those who keep on longest being greeted with applause from the others, the whole usually ending in a burst of laughter. The women join in this vocal performance, which is called *waki* (*haki* P.). After another couple of minutes or so the slit-gong beats again, and the women continue their steps. The whole dance consists of nothing else but endless repetitions of these two alternatives, sometimes continued throughout the night till after dawn has broken. People join in it for a time, then go away and rest, or eat, and return when the spirit moves them, it does not matter, so long as some one is there to keep the thing going incessantly.

Although a *hōma* may be held for no particular reason except that the people want one, there are certain times at which it is proper to hold them, and is considered a ceremonial duty to join in them. During the weeks of preparation for the *watawut* ceremony the boys wearing the *upi* were expected to dance frequently, and were urged on by the elders when they showed signs of flagging interest (see Pl. 30*a*). The men danced also, but the women took no part in these particular affairs. The women have also certain occasions on which they dance by themselves, though they have a man to beat the slit-gong for them. One such occasion is a ceremony performed for a child on the occasion of his first being taken to the taro garden sitting on his

The new put in posts for

them, to rest on. The platform, when finished, is about 2 feet wide 304
and about 4 feet from the ground. (Measurements shown by 852
gestures.) [417]

A number of children are usually operated on at one time. The [554]
child of most importance is taken first. He is made to lie on the
platform, and some women hold him down. The child's mother,
father, brothers, and sisters must stay inside their own huts. They
must not see the operation; if they did, the child's skin would
prove hard, the knife would break, and the operation would be a
lengthy one, and would probably not be finished at sunset. If this
should happen, the mother takes the child away at sunset, and the
marking is left unfinished. It may, however, be finished sub-
sequently.

The woman who is to do the cutting prepares herself by chewing [824]
the root of the plant *mogo* with the betel-mixture, and rubbing the
mixture on her hand. This ensures that she will cut quickly and
that her hand will not be heavy.

All the time the operation is proceeding the women *kōma* and [533]●
the slit-gong is beaten. They say that this is done so that the child
will not feel the pain of the cutting, but my informants admitted
that they knew it had no such effect, but merely drowned the
child's cries.

Women hold the child's legs and arms, and a man holds his head
back so that he cannot see what is being done. If the face is to be
cut, this is done first, no further marking being cut until the face
has healed, or the body may be left without marks. The children
to be operated on subsequently are kept inside the hut.

The child cries and screams all the time. He will say: 'Oh,
mother, I am dying of thirst, let me come down and have a drink,'
or, 'Father, come and take me away, I am dying.' He says to the
woman who is holding him: 'Put me down; I want to go and relieve
myself.' He is only making an excuse to get away. The woman
takes no notice.

A big branch of the tree called *reyto* (which has soft leaves) is [824]
planted near the platform, the leaves are used to wipe away the
blood at intervals so that the operator can see what she has done.
The blood is caught in a *kōbū* (dish made of areca-nut fibre). It is 304
then thrown into the sea at a certain place. This place is taboo for 226
fishing, and women may not get shell-fish from the reef there. For 784
Kurtatchi, the place is called Ur; it is on the beach a few hundred

i.e., poles for the horizontal section of the platform—A.]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

764 535 [533] are sounded and the slit-gong beaten to give the time to the dancers The rhythm goes like this:

////..|..|..|..////..|..|..|..

The dance is kept up till dawn breaks.[1]

764 [415 824] During the time when the body is up on the platform, a *kun* (kind of tray made of *tolas*, a very hard wood, used for cracking almonds upon) is set up in the village, and people shoot at it with bows and arrows, and throw spears, which break on it because the wood is so hard.

Coco-nuts, drinking and dry, and taro and sugar-cane from the gardens belonging to the dead man and his relatives, and other people, too, if they wish, are heaped up at the front verandah of his house. Taro with the stalks still attached is hung up in front of the house, under the eaves. A tall tree is set up in the middle of the heap of coco-nuts, and strings of ceremonial currency (*imun* and *beroan*) belonging to the dead man and his relatives are hung up on it. Some strings are also fastened on his wrists and ankles. These latter can be taken by any one who wishes, if he puts other strings in their places. Those substituted need not be so valuable as those removed. The strings on the tree are afterwards brought back into the house and remain there.

As long as the body remains in the house the widow can eat only one taro a day. She may not chew the ordinary betel-mixture, but can chew two kinds of wild areca-nut, *kiy* and *kawiwi*. All those who touched the man after he was dead may not eat anything,[2] but they may chew the betel-mixture. If this prohibition is not kept the body will stink quickly.

When the time comes for burial the body is carried out by the male relatives. They walk round the heaps of coco-nuts and taro, then they bury him in the graveyard. Axes, knives, spears, and paint are put into the grave with him. In the olden days these were

[17]

[1] This dance was performed on the last occasion of the death of a person of *tumoun* lineage, but as the dead are now buried by the mission teacher, Matarē said it would never be performed again. Both he and his audience were very dramatic in their description of the dance, and seemed to regret it more than any other part of the funerary ritual.

[2] Questioning made it clear that this prohibition was intended to apply to the whole of the time (five or six days) that the body remained in the house, but it would not be literally adhered to; a little taro would be eaten unofficially ('stolen' is the exact translation of the word used) just as in the case of the girl secluded during her first menstruation (see p. 253).

Music, Song, Dance

Music, song, and -- connected to them -- the dance have many peculiarities in the northwestern Solomon Islands. Musical instruments are present in the form of drums and Panpipes. The drums are hollowed-out tree trunks that are carefully smoothed off on the outside; the sound slit is often decorated with carvings in bas relief, especially with the head that is characteristic for the region or with the whole human figure. These drums come in various sizes; a few of them are gigantic specimens150 centimeters long. As a rule the drums are kept in the huts; less frequently one sees them outside. The drummer takes the drumstick in his right hand and beats it, guiding it by the thumb and index finger of the left hand, in a slow or fast tempo against the side wall of the drum slightly below the sound slit; this produces a resonance that is audible at a great distance. Usually several drums are tuned to various pitches, but I never heard more than four different ones. The natives know how to use these drums to communicate with their distant neighbors in a comprehensible signal language; but the drums are also sounded at dances and other festivities. The skill with which the drummers manipulate their drumsticks is truly astonishing. A slow measure is followed by short rapid beats, then again a few measured beats, once again interrupted by an ever-increasing tempo until finally the beats follow one another so rapidly that they die out as a single long rumble. When several drums are simultaneously beaten at this rapid tempo, the sound is earsplitting for musical European ears, but the Solomon Islanders are delectated by it for hours, and scarcely does one drummer become tired when another one jumps up to continue the noise.

The Panpipes are produced in various sizes from bamboo canes. A concert of these pipes does not sound unpleasant. The individual pipes are tuned according to a certain system; there are some with a scale of four and others with a scale of six tones. Different pitches are produced by varying the length and breadth of the reeds--from the deepest bass to the highest treble. I know no other Melanesian people that is able in this way to produce a melody that has any claim to the name "music." I reproduce here a melody, which, however, is always played in harmony. The low range pipes play the individual chords. Unfortunately I was unable to write down the whole phrase as

it is played in harmony. [Translator's note: one line of music omitted.] This melody, constructed on four tones, is played in a not-too-rapid tempo and repeated several times; the last measure is sustained for a long time and the last chord is gradually decrescendoed. Six-tone songs have a melody that is somewhat more complicated but of the very same nature. They do not always dance to this melody; but when they do the men group themselves in such a way [16] that they form rows which emanate radiuslike from the musicians in the center. When the music begins, the dancers begin to revolve around the center; the ones who are closest to the center walk at a measured pace; but the farther the dancer is situated from the middle, the longer he must make his steps in order to stay in line; the ones who are situated farthest from the center must make long leaps in order to keep up at all; for this reason only youths and older boys dance in the extreme outside row. The dancers hold their bows and arrows in their hands, rattle them, and add variety to the music by a shrill whistle every now and then. The song that is sung on this occasion, however, scarcely deserves the name. It consists of a constant repetition of the sound 'o' in the bass clef and the sound 'a' in the treble; these two sounds follow the melody and the phrase of the Panpipe band precisely; this is the only song with musical accompaniment. The previously described dance is performed only by men and boys; women never participate.

Melodies that make use of our whole scale cannot be reproduced because of the limited range of the Panpipe; they are sung therefore, without any actual musical accompaniment, but always accompanied by a monotonous tone that is produced in one way or another. The following melody is one example: [Translator's note: one line of music and text omitted.] The second verse has almost the same wording as the first but with the difference that the word malawolo (a sea fish as is siliholo) replaces the word siliholo. This song is sung in unison when the approximately 10 year old boys are publicly introduced by the dance ha hesinnia in Buka. The singers and dancers form a wide circle, and each holds in his hands a bamboo cane approximately 120 centimeters long and as thick as the human arm. At every step they beat the ground with it producing

a dull sound. The song is sung softly by all the singers, the tempo is slow like a slow march, and the step is accordingly slow with slightly bent knees. Men as well as women take part in this performance. 533 535 852

In Buka and north Bougainville I have seen other dances with very elegant steps performed--both by one sex alone as well as by both together. The dancers stand in rows, sometimes in couples next to each other and sometimes in rows opposite each other; the movements consisted of delicate steps (especially the female dancers gave an astonishing performance) as well as knee bends, twistings and undulations of the hips, and slow movements of the arms. These dances could very well be executed in a European ballroom, only I fear that few people would subject themselves to the effort of practicing them. Dances of this sort can only be executed by people who, like the Solomon Islanders, practice and study almost daily, from youth on, the complicated steps with the most varied bodily movements. Flower and foliage garlands around various parts of the body, flower bouquets in the hands and painting of the body red and white go along with these dances. The song that accompanies these dances is always soft and subdued; unfortunately I was not able to get hold of and write down the melody. 535 [302]

On the Shortland Islands I wrote down a few melodies but unfortunately not the words. They are the following: [Translator's note: two lines of music omitted.] Both melodies were sung in harmony. At the same time the singers walked around in a circle at a rather rapid march tempo; even half-grown children took part in it, and the [17] high children's voices in conjunction with the deeper accompanying voices of the adults produced a very harmonious song which sounded nice even to a European ear. 533 171

When the men go to sea in their large boats, they generally begin singing the previously-mentioned song consisting of 'o' and 'a'; for this same simple text there are still other melodies, which are sung on this occasion. The shovel-shaped oars are dipped into the water in rhythm with the song, sometimes faster and sometimes slower according to the tempo. 533

3: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1932
ON6 Buka ON6

The woman went to the taro garden, and the little brother went behind the woman to the taro garden. He did not come up to the woman, he hid. The woman took her pack on her back, and went back to the house, and the boy went behind her. They went back, and the woman prepared a pot. Then the boy came up to her, and said: "Oh! You are my wife." Then the big brother came up, and the two brothers went off together, and the big brother said: "By and bye I shall marry that woman." "No, I don't like that, she belongs to me, I saw her first." 539

Then the three of them went and got a fishing net, and went fishing. The woman was crying, and the little brother asked her: "What is the matter?" She said: "Nothing, I am crying about my skin, I am afraid it will come off in the water, it is not strong yet. You two must catch a pig and give me some to eat, I am only paint, I am not strong yet."

Then the woman sang:

Eia ro tsinag, eia ro tamag, [533]
Tchenoto eia luma-a tche koreme,
Toa, toa.

This song is in a dialect different from that spoken at Kurtatchi, in which the rest of the tale was told. It resembles the dialect spoken on the coast of Buka. It was translated as follows: "Oh mother! Oh father! Presently the woman will stink in the house. Presently I shall disappear." It was sung very slowly, in a minor key, and repeated several times with obvious satisfaction.

The story was told by Nanep, one of the younger men. I have found no parallel to it, up to the present. [115]

The foregoing categories indicate the scope of my collection of folk-tales, with the omission of those few which involve the White Man, such as the coming of the first schooner or the natives' first experience of tobacco. I hope at some subsequent opportunity to publish more of these 538

535 The Buka dance or *guma* is an uninteresting spectacle. Unlike other Melanesian dances there is very little action and the [535] accompanying singing is but a constant repetition of "O-a-o-a" in as many keys as the human voice is capable of rendering. The men walk slowly around in a circle while the women, standing some ten yards away, advance to the edge of the circle from time to time and in pairs bend their bodies backwards and forwards, or in threes and fours skip sideways to and fro. From a distance the singing is often harmonious, but when heard at close quarters it is both ear-splitting and appalling to a musical listener.

[534] The singing is accompanied by the beating of the hollowed-out 202 wooden drums (*tui*) with series of short staccato raps from the soft-nosed beaters. These *tui* can be heard for many miles when weather conditions are favourable and are used extensively for signalling. Some of the Buka districts have elaborate *tui* codes, and are able to send detailed messages from village to village. Among the more [763] simplified signals is that denoting a death and is made by ten long beats, pause, three short, pause, three short, pause, five short, pause, five short, pause, and ten long. When a man is annoyed over something (his wife has failed to cook the taro, or a pig has died) and he wishes to "tell the world" he raps out ten long beats, a pause, then another ten long beats. The arrival of a stranger in a village is denoted by three long beats, pause, followed by three series of seven short beats interspersed with pauses. The general call to assemble in a village is three series of three shotts and one long beat.

302 The men usually wear their hair long and combed upright. [346] The hair of a woman is close-cropped, except when she has given birth to a child and then it is allowed to grow long until the child is able to crawl about. The women wear a hood made from pandanus 291 leaves sewn horizontally together, with every other leaf dyed red 386 with the root of a bush. This custom is to prevent certain of their male relatives from seeing their hair, which is taboo. A loin cloth 291 of red or coloured print serves as the general garment for both sexes. 177 A few years ago the women wore a small grass *tahu*, and in former days the men wore no covering.

4: Thomas U-5 (no date) 1931 ON6 Buka ON6
Pororan

534 Even to this day the process is similar except that steel chisels and [177] adzes have been brought into play by the experts.

[178] The size of the *tui* varies. On Pororan Island (situated five miles west of the Buka mainland) there are three standard sizes: the *tui*, the *halan* and the *king*. The former measures about eight feet long and four feet high; the *halan*, five feet by two feet, and the *king* three feet by one foot.

The fact that the word *tui* is used for the large drum and *king* for the smaller size prompted me to make searching enquiry as to their etymological origin to see if I might connect them with the Fijian *tui* (king) but, so far as I can gather, the words originated simply from their close resemblance to the sound which both these instruments make.

202 For signalling the *tui* is used exclusively, and one is to be found in every *tsuhan*, or master's house, in the village. The beating is done by hitting the drum sharply, near the top in the centre with [824] the soft-nosed *tsinoi*, or beater, which consists of a number of thick strips of the lawyer vine about six feet in length, bound closely together at the striking end, allowing the other end of the strips to remain loose. These, by a certain twist of the wrist, create a rustling accompaniment to the beats when excitement runs high during a dance. No special men in a village are invested with the privilege of beating a *tui*, though uninitiated boys are not supposed to do so. Women, on the occasion of their own dances, are allowed to beat one.

535 During dances (*guma*) the *tui* and *king* are used. The *king* ● 533 commences and continues with a uniform series of short beats, which attain a higher and more penetrating note than the deep-toned *tui*, even as the word *king* when pronounced sharply. The *tui* beats are varied according to the humour and the ability of the man employed as beater. Usually the beats are:

— — — . . . . . — — — — . . . . . —[1]

Beats continue for a period of from one to two minutes and then *tui* and *king* cease simultaneously, the signal being two or three louder beats made on the *tui*. If the cessation of beats is not simul-

[1] A long beat is represented by a dash; a short one by a dot.

4: Thomas U-5 (no date) 1931 ON6 Buka ON6
Pororan

taneous the dancers and singers show their disapproval by a series of cat-calls and disparaging remarks on the ability of the beaters.

Throughout the main island of Buka and the adjacent islands there is one signal which is commonly known. That is the one announcing the arrival of a stranger or strangers of importance to the village. This signal is called *asosoat*, and is the only signal which is generally adopted. Each district has a code of its own, and these codes seem to be governed according to the distribution of dialectical change.[1]

The Pororan signalling code is limited in comparison with that of the Solos district, where the inhabitants are solely bush natives and have an extensive and detailed code. The chief Pororan signals, made up of *sinak* (long beats) and *hatut* (short beats), consist of:

1. General muster (*ngong-ngok*): ... — ... — ... —
2. Call for the chief (*ngong-ngok*): — — — ... —. — — — — — ... —. — —
3. The arrival of a stranger of importance (*asosoat*): — — — ....
4. A death (*tan ni matano*): — — — — — — — — — — — — ... ... — — — — — — — — — — —
5. Purchasing a wife when the bride-price, or *tsinahan*, has been paid (*tsinahan*):[2] — — — — — — — — ... .. — ..... — — ....— — — — — — ..... — — — — — — — — — — — —

4: Thomas U-5 (no date) 1931 ON6 Buka ON6
Pororan

202 9. General dancing and singing (*guma*).

10. Killing of a captive (man) for food (*kura kura*).

11. Theft (*kope-kope*) : — — — — — — — — — — — ..

12. To ripen the *wungal* (nut). One is placed in the fire and is followed by : .. .. —

13. To drive away sickness. All men armed with coconut leaves, sticks and spears proceed to the village boundary while the women remain in the houses and each *tui* in the village signals in turn : ..... —

Counting is done by repeating the signal — . — . — (which is shown in the " purchase of a wife " signal to the extent of nine, representing the fathoms of native money paid). In counting food such as taro, coconuts, etc., when numbers exceed ten then the signal is abbreviated to — . — for each item. All counting is done by the one code. When a feast is about to be held natives from neighbouring villages are able to ascertain the number of pigs that have been killed for the feast, and also how far the preparations have progressed in order to time their arrival at the scene of feasting at an opportune moment.

News of importance, *e.g.*, the arrival of a government official, is relayed from village to village. In the Solos district the natives also detail the number of police-boys, carriers and boxes in the party.

202 In recent years as a result of the influence of the white man,
● 533 the younger generation who are losing many of the old tribal customs,
177 are inclined to improvise new beats for the dance accompaniments based on the staccato noise of a schooner's auxiliary engine exhaust. This, unfortunately, is but one of the many innovations which are being introduced through white influence, and, in the next decade or so, many of the old-time customs will have disappeared entirely.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE INITIATION CEREMONY OF POROPAN

881 The Ndook ceremony for the initiation of youths on Pororan at
177 the present time is similar, in many respects, to that which was performed on full-grown men in the earlier days, though previously greater secrecy was maintained and admission was not granted to every man, but reserved as a mark of merit or honour amongst the